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17. pwatumu — bro.'s son; hus.'s sis.'s son
18. pwarimye — dau.'s hus.
19. parisano — son's wife
20. wopuko — fa.'s sis.; mo.'s bro.'s wife
21.
22. unya — hus.
23. yedote — fa.'s sis.'s dau.; mo.'s bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.; bro.'s wife
24. uimwe (umwe, ume) — son; mo.'s sis.'s son; sis.'s son; hus.'s bro.'s son
25. umwetamuru — hus.'s fa. ("son's grf.")
26. umwenote — hus.'s mo. ("son's grm.")
27. pwase — bro.'s dau.; hus.'s sis.'s dau.

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582 If we look for the active principles of the system in the three "middle" generations (i.e. speaker's generation, first ascending, and first descending generations), we find that we have here a bifurcating system, in which relatives tracing descent through the maternal line are differentiated from those tracing descent through the paternal line. Marriage, if reflected in the terminology, is generally of the symmetrical cross cousin variety, with the exception that a man may marry his sister's daughter.[1] This is a type of terminology, in other words, which at first glance is well adapted to a dual organization or a sib system. At the present time, however, there is not the slightest indication of the presence of sibs nor of their former existence. Furthermore, no definite existence of sibs or dual organizations in Carib groups of an earlier time is to be found in the literature. Schomburgk, in speaking of the Macusi,[1] makes no mention of clans but says, "the uncle on the father's side may not marry the niece because she is regarded as next of kindred to the brothers and sisters, for which reason he also is called 'Papa.' On the other hand he is allowed to make ties with the daughter of his sister, the wife of a deceased brother and his stepmother when the father is dead." At the same time, it is hinted that descent is through the mother. However, the above mentioned marriage of a man with his sister's daughter would be contrary to the exogamic rule of a matrilinear clan, so that if any inference is to be drawn from the above statement of Schomburgk, it is that the Macusi are either patrilineal or that

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[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. II, p. 252.

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sib principles are not at work. The Carib of the Orinoco paid little attention to descent.[1] Roth, on the basis of personal investigations among Pomeroon Caribs, Akawai, Macusi, Patemona, and Taurepang (all Carib-speaking groups), was unable to find anything corresponding to group or family names which might indicate the recognized existence of sib groupings.[2]

The Macusi apparently possess, according to the somewhat fragmentary information given by Farabee and Schomburgk, a relationship system based on the same principles as that of the Barama Caribs, but are also without a sib system. Kirchhoff, in discussing this problem in a recent and illuminating paper on the social organization of the tribes of northeastern South America,[3] says "the relationship nomenclature of the Macusi is clearly built on one principle, the separation of parallel and cross relatives. . . . This type of kinship nomenclature, which we have found here among a people without sib organization and without traces of an earlier sib organization, has been reported from very many people in all parts of the world (although not from all *Kultur* provinces or Kulturkreises), and as well from those without as from those with sib organization. This type has been regarded by ethnologists as characteristic for sib organization and as intimately and necessarily associated with its (the sib's) fundamental principles. As, upon further investigation, nomenclatures of this type were discovered among hitherto unstudied living peoples without sib organization, a search was begun for new connections and new clarifications. The result is the modern position, which has been universally accepted by the leading North American ethnologists. Even today, however, it has received astonishingly little attention in other countries due to the widespread lack of interest in all ethnological problems. [This modern position is] that this type of nomenclature is the underlying factor in certain problems connected with the levirate and sororate, and consequently is associated with the house group, with small relation to sib organization. . . . Tylor has explained this type on the basis of the dual organization. . . . However, this type has a very

[1] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 673.

[2] Roth, 1924, *An Introductory Study of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs*, p. 675, "An old Pomeroon Carib gave me Turewi-o and Muru-wa as the only two alleged group names of his tribe that he could remember. While ignorant of their meaning or interpretation he assured me that they had nothing to do with sexual restrictions."

[3] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtenheirat*, pp. 41–71. Translation by author.

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by dash line). David is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated by dot-dash line). Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased wife, is related by blood to seven individuals (indicated by dotted line). Christina, David's present wife, and her sister Margaret make up the fifth blood group (indicated by a line composed of dashes interspersed with two dots). Unconnected with these five blood groups are Rose, wife of John, and Lulu, the wife of Edwin.

Now it is certainly possible that all the members of this settlement are more or less distant blood relatives. According to the best estimates, the total Carib population of the Barama country does not exceed six hundred souls. The local traditions of the Indians state that their ancestors migrated into the Barama country from a former home around the head of the Corentyne River. Less than a hundred years ago, Schomburgk found a few Akawai villages on the Barama, apparently representatives of the tribe which formerly occupied the whole region and which at that time was in the process of being eliminated.[1] Even today the Barama Caribs express a feeling of antagonism toward the Akawais as a group, perhaps a survival of the rivalry between the two groups consequent upon the Carib usurpation of the area. On the basis of this evidence it would seem improbable that the ancestors of the present Caribs were in the Barama area much before two hundred years ago. And it would be conceivable that in some distant way most of the present living individuals are related by blood. However, the isolation of the settlements and the difficulties of travel in the region have in many cases erased the memory of such connections from the minds of the people, if in fact such connections actually existed. The important fact from the sociological point of view is that in many instances, as here at Sawari, individuals are not consciously aware of actual blood relationship with certain other individuals.

Reference to the preceding section will acquaint the reader with the kinship terminology. In checking this material I found that men applied the term pamuko (male cross cousin) not only to men who were known to be their cross cousins, but also to all men of the speaker's generation who were not known to be parallel cousins, men, that is, who were not considered actual blood rela-

[1] Schomburgk, 1922-23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. XI.

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773 headman therefore plugged his anus with mud. The Indians be-
539 lieve to this day that the sloth has no anus.

14. TRADITION CONCERNING ANTECEDENTS OF THE BARAMA CARIBS

173 A group of people were living a long time ago in the Cuyuni head, and for some reason were fighting among themselves continuously, killing people at an astonishing rate. Finally a mother and daughter and a father and son escaped, the males coming first, and made their way north to the Barama head. Here they inter-married, and from the head of the river the Caribs spread down toward the mouth.

This theory of origin is supposed to be confirmed by the fact that David (informant) had a relative, his father's brother-in-law, who had journeyed to the Cuyuni head and there seen what he considered miraculous evidence of that great historic period of fighting: tree stumps of rock, and mountains which were white as cotton. When asked in what way these phenomena confirmed the theory, David replied that they were so unusual that they showed something important had happened there.

174 (The spread of the Caribs from the Barama head rather than vice versa seems to agree with their present distribution, their absence below the mouth of the river and along the coast, and also with Schomburck's observations, that in 1842 the Caribs occupied the upper part of the river and the Akawais the lower.)[1]

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

162 THE data concerning the physical anthropology of the Barama
361 Caribs were collected as impartially as possible, with the object of presenting a fair description of the bodily features of the Indian population as it exists at the present time. According to the best estimates the total adult Carib population of the Barama numbers between 275 and 300 individuals. It was not without considerable difficulty that 206 subjects (104 males, 102 females) were finally measured, a difficulty which was due not to the personal objections of the subjects, which were easily overcome, but to the fact that the population is distributed among thirty-three settlements

[1] See Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. 6, Vol. II, Chap. 2.